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Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

## DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

5 March 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.  
Director, Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs  
Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs  
Department of State

FROM: [redacted]  
Chief, Geography Division

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SUBJECT: Israeli West Bank Settlements:  
Measurement of Permanence Potential [redacted]

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1. Attached is a memorandum concerning the permanence of Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Using an imprecise methodology, we have developed a simple index and quantified the permanence of each settlement; resulting scores are presented in accompanying tables and map. [redacted]

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2. The research and analysis for the text were done by [redacted] the Near East Branch, Geography Division, Office of Global Issues. [redacted]

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3. If you have any questions concerning this memorandum, please call me [redacted]

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Attachment

Israeli West Bank Settlements: Measurement of  
Permanence Potential [redacted]

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GI M 85 10061 March 1985 [redacted]

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GI M 85-10061

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SUBJECT: Israeli West Bank Settlements:  
Measurement of Permanence Potential

OGI/GD/NE/[ ] (March 1985)

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## DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

Israeli West Bank Settlements: Measurement of Permanence PotentialSummary

Any negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors on relinquishing occupied territory in exchange for a peace agreement would probably include consideration of razing at least some of Israel's West Bank settlements. Such negotiations would inevitably take into account the large variations among settlements, which range from small clusters of mobile homes to well-constructed urban neighborhoods with several thousand inhabitants. This study makes an initial attempt at examining the issue by presenting an index of settlement permanence, that is, a summation of factors that would be obstacles to settlement dismantlement. Using this index, we have divided the 184 settlements into four categories of "permanence." Almost 70 percent of the settlements fall into the lowest fifth of our scale. At least theoretically, these could be removed at relatively little cost and inconvenience. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted]  
[redacted] Geography Division, Office of Global Issues.  
The information contained herein is updated to 1 February 1985.  
Comments and questions may be addressed to [redacted]  
Chief, Near East Branch, Geography Division [redacted]

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\*158 residential West Bank settlements, 11 East Jerusalem neighborhoods, and 15 sites of other Jewish civilian land use. [redacted]

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Permanence of Israeli West Bank Settlements

Many observers, both proponents and critics, maintain that Israeli West Bank settlements are now too numerous and too entrenched to permit their dismantlement, and that their continued expansion is an irreversible process. According to this argument, these settlements are distributed in such a way that no lines could be drawn to divide the territory without creating unacceptable Jewish enclaves. [redacted]

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Examination of individual settlements, however, presents a different picture. Each settlement has unique demographic, construction, economic, historical, and locational characteristics that affect its potential permanence. Clearly, the many settlements that resemble small, hilltop, mobile home parks could be more easily removed or relinquished than the large apartment complexes around Jerusalem. If the less substantial settlements were dismantled, Israel probably would:

- ° Appease many local Arab landowners, each of whom, although concerned about the entire settlement scheme, is primarily interested in the fate of the particular settlement on his traditional village lands.
- ° Create much larger areas occupied solely by Arabs.
- ° Demonstrate willingness to negotiate in good faith with concerned parties. [redacted]

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The obstacles to dismantling any given settlement can be roughly quantified. We developed a 0-100 scale of "permanence" (appendix A), with 0 denoting an insignificant degree of permanence and 100 denoting an extremely high degree. This scale considered structural, population, and historical/locational factors (tables 1 and 2). [redacted]

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In the West Bank, 74 settlements (about 45 percent) fall below 10 on our scale. These include 30 unpopulated sites, of which 13 have experienced no construction beyond initial site and road clearance. These sites that scored below 10 account for only 7 percent of West Bank settler population, and would be by far the easiest to remove. Another 49 settlements, containing 16 percent of the area's population, fall between 10 and 20 on the scale. Removal of these two least significant groups of settlements would clear many of the hilltops in the heavily Arab-populated areas of Samaria and Judea. [redacted]

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Settlements that scored over 20 on the scale are the sites with larger populations, more solid residences, and, in many cases, historic/strategic importance. Many of these settlements fall within areas of Labor's 1967 Allon Plan (Jordan Valley, 'Ezyon Bloc, East Jerusalem). About 15, however, are large bedroom communities established in Samaria by the Likud

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[redacted]

government between 1977 and 1984. All of the East Jerusalem neighborhoods scored above 40, as did 13 large settlements that house 55 percent of the West Bank settlers. [redacted]

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Examination of the individual components of the settlement network suggest that it is not necessarily too late for territorial compromise based on dismantlement of at least some settlements. Although dismantlement of settlements is an emotionally charged, politically sensitive issue, at least half of these "facts on the landscape" would probably present a minimal physical impediment to a negotiated peace that calls for their removal. [redacted]

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Appendix AMethodology

Our 0-100 scale of permanence assigns equal weights to three characteristics of each settlement: structures, population, and historical/location factors. A settlement's score for each characteristic was determined by summation of the weighted sub-components. This total was then multiplied by a constant so that the maximum score possible for each section--33.3--corresponded to twice the average of all settlement scores in that section.

[REDACTED]

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The score for the first characteristic is based on a count of structures (both dwellings and nondwellings) weighted by size, type, and function (table 1). In counting agricultural and industrial buildings, some adjustments were made to account for the economic viability of the settlement.

[REDACTED]

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Scores for the second third of the scale--population--were based on the number of adults in each settlement, weighted by ideological commitment of the settler group, when applicable. A "stubbornness factor," providing greater weight to religious settlers and to Gush Emunim members, was applied, because of their greater ideological opposition to displacement. We counted only adults, noting that the number of children would have little role in the decisionmaking process.

[REDACTED]

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The final section was a combination of five historical and locational elements important in any consideration of abandoning West Bank territory. Our scale awarded points to settlements if they were religiously significant, if they were established on pre-1948 Jewish-owned land, if they were set up before 1977 within the bounds of Labor's Allon Plan, and if they had military importance (location in the Jordan Valley or on the overlooking ridge). Finally, each site was assigned points that reflected its distance from the Israel-Jordan Armistice Line of 1949 (Green Line).

[REDACTED]

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The methodology used in this study is imprecise, but was designed for ease of data gathering and manipulation. We believe methodologies that might more precisely consider actual costs of dismantlement and other factors would essentially yield the same results.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Table 1Weighted Factors of Settlement Structural Types

Type of Structure	Weighted Factor
Residences	
Tent	.25
Single prefab unit	.75
Small barracks	1.0
Mobile home	2.0
Large barracks	3.0
Double prefab unit	4.0
Townhouse	7.0
House	8.0
Duplex unit	8.0
Apartment unit	9.0
Other buildings	
Storage shed	.5
Greenhouse	3.0
Garage	3.5
Warehouse	3.5
Small industrial building	4.5
Livestock building	5.0
Commercial building	7.0
Institutional building	8.0

Exceptionally large buildings (large industries, high schools, commercial complexes, etc.) received weights as high as 25.0. Buildings presently under construction received weights half that of their completed counterparts.

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Table 2

PERMANENCE SCORE FOR SETTLEMENTSWest Bank

Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	<u>Sub-Score</u>		<u>Historical/ Locational Factors</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
	<u>Structures</u>	<u>Population</u>		
1. Abbir Ya'aqov	0	1	5	6
2. Adam	1	1	6	8
3. Adnim	0	0	9	9
4. Adora (N)	0	1	6	7
5. Adorah	1	1	5	7
6. Alfe Menashe (U)	31	14	6	51
7. Allon Shevut (RC)	18	33	19	70
8. Almog (K)	3	2	11	17
9. Almon (C)	1	3	9	13
10. Argaman (M)	4	3	11	18
11. Ari'el (U)	33	33	7	73
12. Ari'el Ind. Site (I)	3	0	5	8
13. 'Ateret (C)	1	2	4	7
14. 'Ayn Fashkhah (RS)	0	0	3	3
15. Barqan (C)	4	4	5	13
16. Beqa'ot (M)	6	3	17	26
17. Berakha (C)	3	3	9	15
18. Bet Arye (C)	4	5	6	15
19. Bet El (C)	9	21	7	37
20. Bet El B (U)	7	10	7	24
21. Bet Ha'Arava	1	1	11	13
22. Bet Horon (C)	1	7	9	17
23. Bet Horon B (C)	1	1	6	8
24. Bet Yattir (M)	1	4	7	12
25. Brosh (N)	0	2	7	9
26. Canada Park (RS)	0	0	13	13
27. Dani'el	1	3	6	10
28. Dolev	2	2	5	9
29. Efratah (U)	16	19	9	44
30. El'azar (MS)	5	3	9	17
31. El David (C)	1	3	5	9
32. Elisha' (N)	1	1	4	6
33. Elon More (C)	9	14	13	36
34. Elqana (U)	6	15	16	37
35. Elqana C (C)	1	0	6	7

<sup>a</sup>C-Community settlement, I-Industrial site, K-Kibbutz, M-Moshav, MS-Moshav shitufi, N-Nahal settlement, RC-Regional center, RS-Recreational site, U-Urban settlement, Y-Yeshiva.

Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	<u>Sub-Score</u>		<u>Historical/ Locational Factors</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
	<u>Structures</u>	<u>Population</u>		
36. Elqana D (C)	13	1	6	20
37. 'Enav (C)	2	5	5	12
38. Eshkolot (N)	0	1	6	7
39. Gane Modi'in (C)	0	0	7	7
40. Gannim	1	3	5	9
41. Gannim B (N)	0	1	5	6
42. Geva'ot (N)	0	1	7	8
43. Gilgal (K)	3	5	13	21
44. Ginnat (N)	0	1	7	8
45. Ginnot Shomeron (C)	25	0	5	30
46. Gittit (M)	5	3	9	17
47. Giv'at Harsina (U)	5	4	7	16
48. Giv'at Levona	2	0	2	4
49. Giv'at Ze'ev (U)	33	10	5	48
50. Giv'on (U)	1	10	9	20
51. Giv'on Hadassa (C)	3	5	13	21
52. Hakhilili	1	0	5	6
53. Hallamish (C)	7	15	5	27
54. Hamra (M)	7	5	16	28
55. Har Gilo (U)	7	5	13	25
56. Hebron Jewish Quarter (and adjacent occupied buildings)	1	11	17	29
57. Hermesh	2	1	6	9
58. Hinnanit (C)	2	2	6	10
59. Homesh (C)	2	3	4	9
60. 'Immanu'el (U)	33	25	8	66
61. 'Irit (N)	1	1	11	13
62. Jordan Valley Monument (RS)	0	0	9	9
63. Jordan Valley Regional Council Offices	1	1	9	11
64. Jordan Valley Service Center	1	0	9	10
65. Karmel (MS)	1	2	9	12
66. Kefar Adummim (C)	4	9	11	24
67. Kefar 'Ezyon (K)	7	7	19	33
68. Kefar Rut (M)	4	3	7	14
69. Kefar Tappuah (C)	2	5	2	9
70. Kokhav HaShahar (C)	3	7	16	26
71. Lido Yehuda (I/RS)	1	0	17	18
72. Ma'ale Adummim (U)	33	33	12	78
73. Ma'ale 'Amos (C)	2	2	4	8
74. Ma'ale Efrayim (U)	22	21	14	57
75. Ma'ale Hever (C)	2	1	2	5
76. Ma'ale Levona	1	1	3	5
77. Ma'ale Shomeron (C)	3	4	5	12

Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	<u>Sub-Score</u>		<u>Historical/ Locational Factors</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
	<u>Structures</u>	<u>Population</u>		
78. Manoah (N)	1	1	4	6
79. Ma'on (MS)	1	1	9	11
80. Massu'a (M)	4	3	10	17
81. Matkhan Tappuah (N)	1	1	2	4
82. Mattityahu (MS)	2	3	7	12
83. Mattityahu B	0	0	7	7
84. Mehola (M)	8	5	18	31
85. Mekhora (M)	5	3	15	23
86. Menora	0	0	7	7
87. Mevo Dotan (C)	2	5	9	16
88. Mevo Horon (MS)	5	6	13	24
89. Meza	1	1	4	6
90. Migdalim	1	1	7	9
91. Migdal 'Oz (K)	5	4	5	14
92. Mikhmas (C)	1	5	15	21
93. Mishor Adummim (RC)	3	3	18	24
94. Mishor Adummim Industrial Center (I)	6	0	18	24
95. Mizpe Deragot (RS)	1	1	5	7
96. Mizpe Shalem (K)	3	2	12	17
97. Mizpe Yeriho (C)	4	3	11	18
98. Moshe Zar's Mansion	1	1	5	7
99. Mul Nevo (N)	1	2	4	7
100. Na'ale (C)	2	7	6	15
101. Na'ama (M)	1	2	4	7
102. Nablus Yeshiva (Y)	0	1	9	10
103. Nahli'el	1	0	5	5
104. Negohot (N)	0	1	6	7
105. Ne'ot Adummim (C)	0	1	6	7
106. Netafim (C)	1	3	5	9
107. Netiv HaGedud (M)	5	3	11	19
108. Niran (K)	3	5	14	22
109. Niriyya	0	0	5	5
110. Nofim (C)	3	0	5	8
111. North Dead Sea Solar Ponds (I)	0	0	11	11
112. 'Ofarim (C)	0	0	6	6
113. 'Ofra (C)	15	17	20	52
114. 'Omarim (C)	0	1	6	7
115. Oranit (C)	5	0	7	12
116. 'Otni'el (C)	1	1	5	7
117. Pelas (N)	1	1	4	6
118. Pesagot (RC)	4	6	5	15
119. Peza'el (M)	7	5	19	31
120. Qalya (K)	3	5	18	26
121. Qarne Shomeron (U)	12	24	11	47

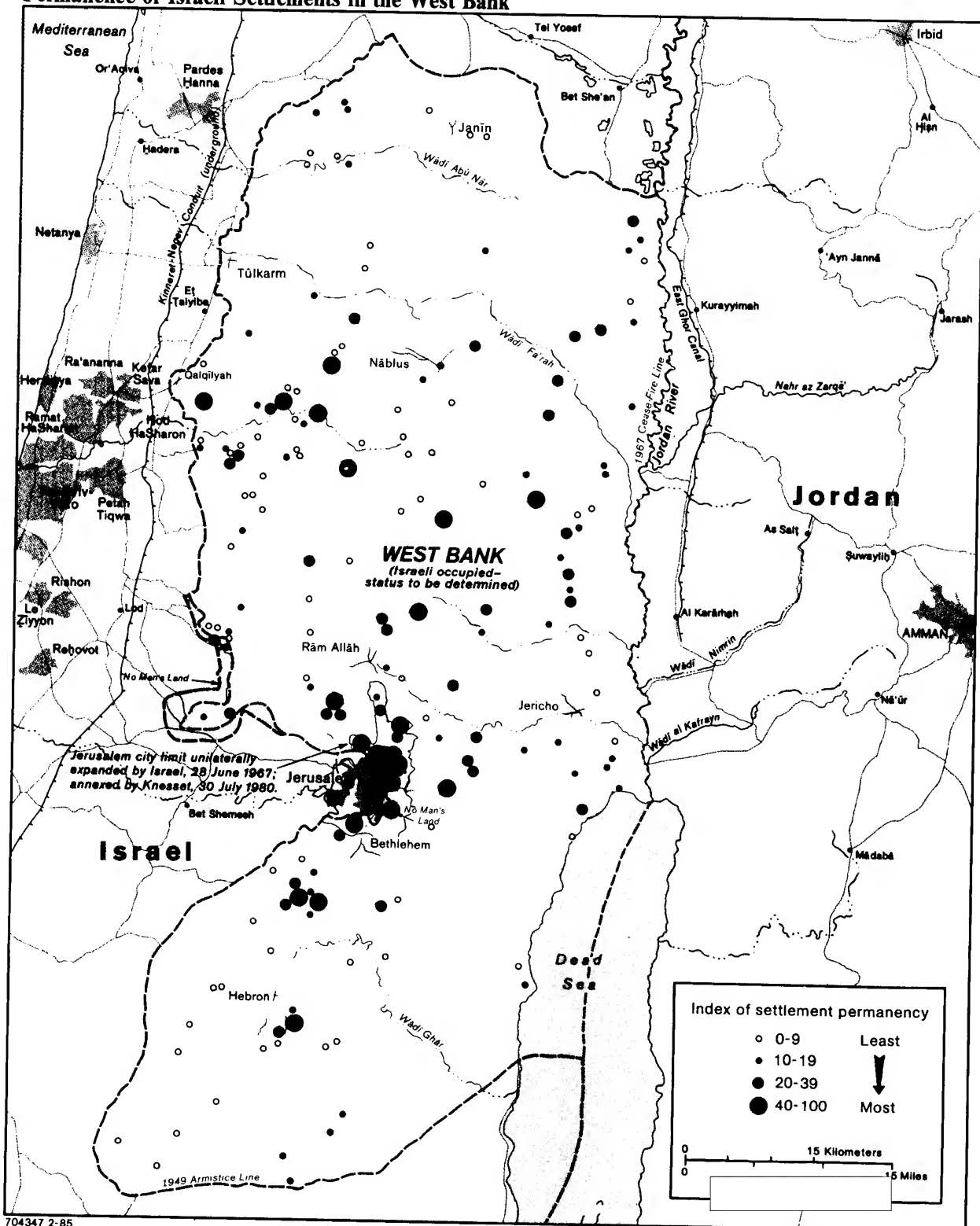
Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	<u>Sub-Score</u>		<u>Historical/ Locational Factors</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
	<u>Structures</u>	<u>Population</u>		
122. Qarne Shomeron Industrial Site (I)	3	0	5	8
123. Qarne Zur (M)	1	0	5	6
124. Qedumim (C)	13	31	13	57
125. Qedumim Zefon (C)	1	3	4	8
126. Qiryat Arba' (U)	33	33	17	83
127. Rehan (MS)	3	1	10	14
128. Rimmonim (C)	2	3	10	15
129. Ro'i (M)	5	5	13	23
130. Rosh Zurim (K)	6	9	23	38
131. Rotem (N)	1	0	13	14
132. Sal'it (M)	4	3	6	13
133. Sa Nur	1	1	4	6
134. Sha'are Tiqwa (U)	6	0	6	12
135. Shadmot Mehola (MS)	3	3	13	19
136. Shaqed (C)	2	3	6	11
137. Shave Shomeron (C)	5	9	7	21
138. Shilat (M)	5	3	13	21
139. Shillo (C)	5	16	22	43
140. Susya (M)	2	2	9	13
141. Telem (MS)	1	1	5	7
142. Tel Hayim	1	0	2	3
143. Tego'a (M)	5	9	15	29
144. Tomer (M)	5	4	10	19
145. Vered Yeriho (C)	3	3	10	16
146. Yabboq (N)	1	1	11	13
147. Yafit (M)	3	2	1	6
148. Yaqin (N)	0	0	4	4
149. Yaqgir (C)	2	9	5	16
150. Yitav (K)	1	3	15	19
151. Yizhar	1	1	3	5
152. Yo'ezer (C)	1	1	6	8
153. Zamarot	0	0	7	7
154. Zofim	0	0	6	6
155. Zohar (N)	0	1	5	6
156. Zoref (N)	0	1	6	7
157. Zori (N)	0	1	4	5
158. Site, NE of Ari'el	0	0	3	3
159. Site, SE of Elqana	0	0	5	5
160. Site, W of Elqana	0	0	6	6
161. Site, SW of Har Gilo	0	0	7	7
162. Site, S of Hermesh	0	0	5	5
163. Site, adjacent to Kefar Rut	0	0	7	7
164. Site, NW of Kefar Tappuah	0	0	3	3
165. Site, W of Mevo Dotan	0	0	5	5
166. Site, N of Qedumim (C)	0	0	5	5
167. Site, SW of Yo'ezer	0	0	6	6

East Jerusalem Neighborhoods

Urban Neighborhoods and Other Activities	<u>Sub-Score</u>		<u>Historical/ Locational Factors</u>	<u>Total Score</u>
	<u>Structures</u>	<u>Population</u>		
1. 'Atarot Industrial Zone	6	0	19	25
2. East Talpiyot	33	33	13	79
3. Gilo	33	33	20	86
4. Giv'at HaMivtar (Ammunition Hill)	33	33	13	79
5. Giv'at Shapira (French Hill)	33	33	13	79
6. Government Office Buildings	9	0	13	22
7. Hebrew University, Mount Scopus	17	33	20	70
8. Hyatt Regency Hotel	2	0	7	9
9. Jerusalem Airfield	3	0	12	15
10. Jewish Quarter	33	33	27	93
11. Ma'alot Dafna	33	33	13	79
12. Ministry of Justice	2	0	13	15
13. Newe Ya'agov	33	33	19	85
14. Pisgat Ze'ev	33	0	6	39
15. Ramat Eshkol	33	33	17	83
16. Ramot Allon	33	33	13	79
17. Sanhedriya Extension	16	25	17	58

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**Secret****Permanence of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank****Secret**

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